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ABSTRACT

Beginning in 1936, First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt wrote an unprecedented newspaper column that provided readers with a detailed recital of her daily activities. Titled "My Day," the column gave behind-the-scenes glimpses of White House life and served as a platform from which the First Lady could state her personal views. The column was a mixture of political oratory, public relations for President Roosevelt's New Deal, and the perceptions of an individual playing a leading role in the drama of her time. During its first year, "My Day" addressed humanitarian concerns such as poverty, unemployment, conservation, and the role of women, but much of it could be read as ingenious political propaganda during an election year. The column gave the Roosevelt administration a highly flexible weapon in its political arsenal, and Mrs. Roosevelt and the President most certainly conferred on some of its contents. Numerous columns during the years of World War II contained patriotic messages, descriptions of Mrs. Roosevelt's travels to various war areas, letters from servicemen, and advice from the Office of War Information. Beyond its political overtones, "My Day" sent a series of mixed messages regarding the position of women in society. While the column failed to offer a role model of much meaning to the average woman, it nevertheless showed a middle-aged woman continually on the move, establishing a place in the competitive occupation of journalism, and defining a role for herself outside the customary boundaries of her position. (HTH)

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The White House Years

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Eleanor Roosevelt and "My Day":

The White House Years

As the year 1936 dawned, a new columnist arrived on the American newspaper scene. She was First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, whose unprecedented column, "My Day," provided readers from coast to coast with a detailed recital of her activities six days a week. Billed as a "diary," the column occupied an unusual niche in American journalism. It gave behind-the-scenes glimpses of White House life and served as a platform from which the First Lady could state her personal views. Part an "inside" look at celebrities, part political oratory, part public relations for the New Deal, part the perceptions of an individual playing a leading role in the drama of her times, "My Day" eluded a definite classification. Frequently criticized for its trivial content and lack of literary style, "My Day" remained a journalistic fixture for over a quarter of a century, continuing after Mrs. Roosevelt left the White House.

Unfortunately historians have paid little attention to "My Day," except to note its existence among Mrs. Roosevelt's numerous other ventures. It has been written off as shallow and inconsequential, especially during the period when

Eleanor Roosevelt was First Lady.[1] A reappraisal is needed, particularly in light of current interest in women's history. Restricted in what she could say as First Lady, Eleanor Roosevelt had to focus on the obvious -- herself and her position. Much of what she wrote stressed the commonplace. Still tens of thousands of readers hung on to every word. No doubt, many sought vicarious satisfaction in following the activities of the President's wife. Another aspect of the column, however, should not be overlooked, the very artlessness sneered at by intellectuals.[2] Eleanor Roosevelt wrote like a grandmother, a favorite aunt, or a friendly neighbor next door. She offered advice and counsel to Americans coping with vast social upheaval -- first the Depression, then the Second World War. She appealed, she urged, she offered herself as a guide for her readers, many of whom were women. "My Day" displayed her own activities as models for her readers to follow. This paper will review the origins and content of the column and attempt to analyze its political and social significance.

Mrs. Roosevelt's motivation in beginning the column seems clear. In a letter to her intimate friend, Lorena Hickok, she wrote, "...I need the money."[3] She spent large sums annually, sometimes more than the President's $75,000

salary, mainly on philanthropy. By the time she started "My Day," she was no stranger to writing for pay. Under the tutelage of Louis Howe, the newspaperman who had guided Franklin D. Roosevelt's political career, she had become a frequent contributor to magazines before Roosevelt's election as President.[4] Shortly after she moved into the White House, United Features Syndicate asked her to do a daily column, apparently at the suggestion of Gretta Palmer, woman's page editor of the New York World-Telegram.[5] Mrs. Roosevelt rejected the idea due to other commitments, including a weekly series for the Columbia Syndicate on social customs in Washington and the work of government agencies.[6] This series turned out to be disappointing, in her own words, "a very dull affair."[7]

Two years later United Features took over Columbia and pressed her to sign a five-year contract for publication of a daily "diary." She prepared a sample version for December 30, 1935, in competition with another new Washington column, one written by her tart-tongued cousin, Alice Roosevelt Longworth.[8] Mrs. Roosevelt's editor, Monte F. Bourjaily, general manager of United Features, greeted "My Day" with some trepidation as well as delight. Fearing that she might lack ideas, Bourjaily sent her a lengthy list of suggestions:

The "high spot" of her day; what the individuals she met "have on their minds;" "things of interest to women in their homes as reflected in White House housekeeping;" her personal interests; "real life stories" taken from her mail or own experiences; tips on etiquette; "pieces of inspiration;" the "trend of thought in the country" as revealed in her daily mail, and, "most important of all, the day-to-day experiences, interests and observations in which you may share that part of your life which you are willing to make public with newspaper readers...."[9] Still uncertain that she would develop a suitable format, Bourjaily enclosed a model -- the popular column by Franklin P. Adams titled "Diary of Our Own Samuel Pepys," that ran in the New York Herald-Tribune.[10] Fearful that copy might not flow continuously, Bourjaily tried to enlist the help of "Tommy," Malvina Thompson Scheider, Mrs. Roosevelt's secretary. He asked her to play a "Boswellian role" and jot down comments Mrs. Roosevelt made each day for use if "the regular column fails to reach us on time."[11]

Mrs. Roosevelt had her own doubts about the venture. Realistically, she recognized that her position made her writing saleable. Yet she wanted it to be valued on merit. When a magazine returned an article shortly before she started the column, she wrote Hickok, to whom she frequently sent

manuscripts for criticism:

> You see I haven't the feeling that the things are good in themselves. I've always felt it was largely name & I'm glad to have it back because it shows they are wanting something besides name. If I can't do this after giving it a good try then I must do something else that is all & one can only find out by trying.[12]

Her desire to succeed stemmed from her own psychic tensions in the opinion of family and friends. Her son, Elliott, attributed it to a need for "power and influence, provided it was in her own right and her own name."[13] According to Dr. James A. Halsted, a son-in-law, she needed to work to give herself an identity.[14] In Halsted's view, her pursuit of a career allowed her to handle "wisely and intelligently" emotional problems resulting from disclosure of Franklin D. Roosevelt's infidelity in the World War I era, long before his election as President.[15] To her grandson, John R. Boettiger, her career represented one of the ways "she struggled to be as full a human being as she was."[16] Certainly she received enthusiastic support from Howe who saw that she could win an uncounted number of friends for the Roosevelt administration through writing, lecturing and other public activities.

At first Mrs. Roosevelt thought a daily column would be

"the most dreadful chore," but she soon decided otherwise.[18] Asked to submit sample articles to Bourjaily, she tossed them off with ease, telling Hickok, "The writing is easy so far, they must want one incident out of the day & so far I've had no trouble."[19] The pilot column featured an innocuous account of her falling over "gentlemen" waiting to see the President in a dark White House hall.[20] It set a tone of making the White House somewhat analogous to the typical American home where misadventures often occurred. The "gentlemen," however, were not identified.

This tendency to leave out vital information brought forth a delicate admonition from Bourjaily. After she praised the work of a Works Progress Administrator in Arkansas, who had been killed in a plane crash, but failed to mention his name, Bourjaily chided gently: "I may be entirely mistaken but it seems to me that such a beautiful tribute would have been heightened and everyone concerned would have been highly pleased if you had mentioned the name of the WPA Administrator involved."[21] When she told her readers of fruitless attempts to obtain a Chuddar shawl for "Colonel Howe" without giving Howe's first name or explaining what a Chuddar shawl was, the syndicate added an editorial note defining Chuddar shawls as large sheets worn by women in India.[22] Editors took pains to

save her from embarrassing mistakes, but let her know of their efforts. "I know that nobody enjoys a laugh on herself better than yourself, therefore pour le sport I am taking the liberty of enclosing copy of an editorial memorandum...," George Carlin, Bourjaily's successor at United Features, wrote on one occasion.[23] He enclosed his memo from an editor who had corrected some awkward wording:

> ...I note with horror that the First Lady has turned cannibal. The lead sentence in her story is 'We had a lunch of some 50-odd ladies yesterday....' and a little further down she goes on with the fearful orgy as evidenced by: 'We returned in time for lunch and had a very distinguished group of doctors....' I have carefully changed these 2 sentences lest we lose our vegetarian readers.[24]

During its first year "My Day" touched on humanitarian concerns Mrs. Roosevelt addressed repeatedly during her White House years: Unemployment, poverty, youth, women's role, education, rural life, labor, conservation. Yet, much of it could be read as ingenious political propaganda during an election year. The column used various devices to enhance the administration: Direct praise of New Deal programs, vignettes of encounters with taxi-drivers and other average Americans passionately eager to vote for Roosevelt, and anecdotes picturing Franklin D. Roosevelt as a warm human

being reacting gracefully to such political setbacks as the Supreme Court's rejection of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration.[25] Overall it projected her as an incredibly energetic grandmother devoted to family, friends and worthy causes while presiding at the White House, flying around the country to give speeches and campaigning for the Democratic party. It showed her as a kind of "superwoman," finding time to read popular books, attend the theater, and partake of numerous cultural events, often mentioned in unsophisticated critiques. For example, she reported "Gone With the Wind" was a "book you would like to read straight through.... I can assure you you will find Scarlett O'Hara an interesting character...circumstances mold even the little animal she seems to be."[26]

According to Elliott Roosevelt, the column concealed his mother's true identity as a "detached, harried, fault-finding wife and parent."[26] If so, there still were hints of deep-seated emotions that the writer kept to herself. Not surprisingly, these appeared in observation on women in general. Commenting on Nazi Germany, where women were being limited to childbearing, she stated her support for work as a human right: "There are three fundamentals for human happiness -- work which will produce at least a minimum of

material security, love and faith. These things must be made possible for all human beings, man and women alike."[27] She attacked a claim that "there will never be any really great women writers in the theatre, because women do not know as much as men," replying: "...women know not only what men know, but much that men will never know. For, how many men really know the heart and soul of a woman?"[28] She offered consolation for anyone "in the public eye," explaining, "the more you live in a 'goldfish bowl,' the less people really know about you."[29]

The names of many famous women paraded through "My Day," particularly those of New Deal figures -- Frances Perkins, Mary W. Dewson, Mary Anderson, Hilda W. Smith, Hollie Flanagan, Caroline G. O'Day -- making the column a kind of newsletter for women in politics.[30] Not a feminist, Mrs. Roosevelt used "My Day" as a forum for opposition to the equal rights amendment, contending laboring women, unlike their professional counterparts, needed protective legislation.[31] Although it exhorted women to enter politics, "My Day" never challenged the conventional wisdom requiring women to be family-oriented.[32] Yet the First Lady sometimes alluded to a vague sisterhood of sex in such comments as, "There are practical little things in housekeeping which no man really understands."[33]

The column gave the administration a highly flexible weapon in its political arsenal, which may have accounted for its enthusiastic acceptance by Franklin D. Roosevelt.[34] It was the logical place to scotch a silly rumor that the President's mother charged the government rent for the time Roosevelt spent in the family mansion at Hyde Park.[35] When Mrs. Roosevelt became ill in September, 1936, the President offered to write it for her, but she declined, telling her readers, "...we refused, courteously and rapidly knowing that if it once became the President's column we would lose our readers and that would be very sad."[36]

No doubt the two conferred on some of the contents. Shortly before the Democratic National convention in 1936, the President directed Mrs. Roosevelt to print verbatim a report on steel industry automation, which had caused unemployment which he wanted blamed on Republican industrialists, not the New Deal.[37] The report appeared without attribution to Hickok, the actual author, then a confidential investigator for Harry Hopkins, Roosevelt's relief czar. Mrs. Roosevelt apologized to Hickok:

> Dearest, From your Youngstown letter, taking out the name of place & industry, I've written my Monday piece at Franklin & Roy Howard's (Howard was head of the Scripps-Howard newspaper chain) suggestion.

> If you mind I'm terribly sorry. I wanted to wait for your consent but Franklin won't let me. I think he wants me to be whipping boy & tho' he can't bring the question out he wants it out.[38]

Over the years Mrs. Roosevelt never failed to do the column, covering all the topics Bourjaily outlined in his letter of instruction plus many more. She never ran out of ideas in spite of illness, travel and vacation so her secretary never had to assume the "Boswellian role" Bourjaily had envisioned. Mrs. Roosevelt dictated it to Scheider, frequently under trying circumstances while traveling -- during picnic lunches, in automobiles, trains, planes and ships, and in hotel rooms so cramped the bed was the only place for a typewriter.[39] Sometimes difficulties arose in filing the copy, carefully marked "PRESS RATES COLLECT."[40] The First Lady shared her problems with her readers, telling them when telegraph offices were closed, lines down and deadlines barely made.[41]

From the first the column proved a financial success. Six months after it began, Bourjaily reported it had fifty-one clients, the same number it started with, although several large papers had dropped it and smaller ones picked it up.[42] Depending on the number of subscribers, the column

brought Mrs. Roosevelt from $1100 to $2000 a month during her White House years. Clients represented a mixed bag of newspaperdom, ranging from the then-mighty Scripps-Howard chain to obscure sheets given a bargain weekly rate under a dollar.[43] The syndicate kept the initial price low to compete with the Longworth column, which soon vanished from the scene.[44] By 1938 "My Day" appeared in 62 newspapers with a total circulation of 4,034,552, giving Mrs. Roosevelt exposure to more readers than David Lawrence, Raymond Clapper and Heywood Broun, although she lagged behind Walter Lippman, who reached 8,000,000 readers in 160 newspapers, and Dorothy Thompson, who reached 7,500,000 in 140.[45]

Critics of "My Day" abounded. Stylists objected to her repeated use of cliches and "persistently sweet tone," marked by numerous references to events as "interesting," "lovely" or momentous."[46] Some scorned her selection of family anecdotes, which, for example, showed her as a doting grandmother pretending to be a growling lion for a grandson, and a loyal mother, plugging her daughter Anna's book, Scamper, The Bunny Who Went to the White House.[47]

Perhaps shrewdly, Mrs. Roosevelt made these complaints the subject of a column, running a letter from a woman complaining of her "inane chatter about your family affairs" and

urging her not to "waste your valuable time and the space in the paper with something so worthless...when you could so easily write something which might have marvelous results."[48] Mrs. Roosevelt ingenuously answered, "You must occasionally have something lighter to relieve you."[49] Soon she thanked the "many people" who had written to say they enjoyed reading "about the little things."[50] Left unsaid were references to the political good will her columns brought the administration. They established Mrs. Roosevelt as a prototype wife and mother and they helped defuse criticism of the family divorces and business ventures.

Columnist Westbrook Pegler occupied a special category as critic. Although he first applauded "My Day," Pegler protested when she joined the American Newspaper Guild, a union of newspaper employes, attacking her credentials as a bona fide journalist. Since United Features syndicated Pegler as well as Mrs. Roosevelt, Carlin came to Mrs. Roosevelt's defense, writing her:

> 'My Day' goes on and on, not because it is written by the wife of the President of the United States, but because it is an honest projection of one of the great personalities of our own time; a woman great in her own right, and as a newspaper columnist, possibly the best trouper of them all, never known to miss a deadline.[51]

Over the years the column progressed from a simple chronicle to an oblique source of information on administration policy. In 1939 Arthur Krock of The New York Times labeled it "required political reading," after Mrs. Roosevelt sat at the President's side during a press conference and prompted him to discuss cutbacks in work relief programs.[52] She covered the same subject in her column and used the same figure of speech as the President.[53] Still the column remained her personal platform. "My Day," for instance, announced her resignation from the Daughters of the American Revolution when the organization refused to let a Negro, Marian Anderson, sing in its hall.[54]

Sympathy for youth led her to make "My Day" a vehicle for promoting and defending the left-leaning American Youth Congress. Indications of fellow-traveling disturbed her syndicate editors. In a tactful warning, Carlin told her he "inwardly applauded" a comment that Communism was increased by "empty stomachs" but hoped she would never repeat it: "...the word Communist is a red flag. It is dangerous, I think, for a column like 'My Day.'"[55] His admonition brought a denial from Scheider that Mrs. Roosevelt had actually written "Communist," although, the secretary agreed, "you were right that it could be interpreted that way."[56] At

issue was a column quoting a man who claimed Congress had made "ten potential Communists for every (actual) one" by cutting out WPA jobs.[57] "Mrs. R. says she will be extremely careful in the future," Scheider promised.[58] Mrs. Roosevelt continued to uphold the Youth Congress in "My Day," however, denying it was a Communist front and reporting her support for the group at Congressional hearings investigating it for un-American activities.[59]

As war opened in Europe, Mrs. Roosevelt turned "My Day" into a vehicle to prepare Americans for entry into the conflict. Her accounts of the visits here of the King and Queen of England in 1939, which led to the temporary sale of her column abroad, fostered interest in cementing the Anglo-American alliance.[60] Occasionally she became so caught up in European development she forgot her position as a newspaper columnist. After she referred to gluing herself to the radio for war news, Carlin passed on a letter of complaint from a Memphis editor who objected to the inference newspapers were secondary news sources. "As you know, radio competition is a very sore point with newspapers," Carlin emphasized.[61] A few days later Mrs. Roosevelt tried to make amends. "Curious how we have settled down again after our first flurry of excitement and now turn to our newspapers for

real information," she told her readers.[62]

Even as she foresaw American participation in war, she appealed for peace and creation of a new world where aggressors would be curbed and humanity freed to reach new heights. Long before bombs dropped on Pearl Harbor, Mrs. Roosevelt implied the inevitability of Americans dying in battle. "...when force...is as menacing to all the world, as it is today, one cannot live in a Utopia which prays for different conditions and ignores those which exist," she wrote.[63] On the eve of the election of 1940, when Franklin D. Roosevelt won an unprecedented third term, she downplayed the certainty of American involvement in war: "The fact is before you that in a world of war we are still at peace."[64] But after the election she returned to the theme "for most of us, it seems imperative that we meet physical force with physical force," adding "...our endeavor should be to use this physical force to achieve the results in which we believe...."[65]

The dream of a better world tomorrow resounded through "My Day" after the United States declared war. In support of the war effort, "My Day" pleaded for increased racial and religious harmony in the United States. To Mrs. Roosevelt, American intervention symbolized a crusade to prove the superiority of democracy. "If we cannot meet the challenge

of fairness to our citizens of every nationality...if we cannot keep in check anti-semitism, anti-racial feelings as well as anti-religious feelings, then we shall have removed from the world, the one real hope for the future...," she stressed.[66]

Mrs. Roosevelt, however, said relatively little about extending the rights of women. Although a ceaseless advocate of women's participation in defense work, "My Day" saw women simply as willing subordinates to military men carrying the burden of saving Western civilization. The First Lady urged women to work in munitions plants, become nurses, volunteer for non-combatant duty and mobilize in hundreds of different ways, from saving grease to ferrying airplanes, to keep the homefires burning brightly. In common with most of the rest of the population, Mrs. Roosevelt assumed the war would not bring a permanent change in women's status. Commenting on a "question which surprised and interested me" -- whether women should give up jobs to returning servicemen -- she replied, "...it seems to me to be clear that every service-man has been promised that he will be restored to his former job."[67]

Dissatisfaction with women's status crept into "My Day," but blame was put on women themselves. Suggesting a national

service act, covering women as well as men after the war, Mrs. Roosevelt wrote in 1944:

> Women are often attacked because no radical changes have occurred since they obtained their rights as full citizens of this democracy, and now is the time to show they recognize their responsibilities.
>
> I have always contended that women have had a very general influence on the trend of government in the past twenty-five years, but I cannot say that I think they have used their abilities and opportunities to the utmost.[68]

In numerous columns during the war years, Mrs. Roosevelt ignored the diary format, turning to patriotic messages, descriptions of her travels to far-flung war theaters, including the South Pacific, letters from servicemen and advice from the Office of War Information. A column urging Congress continue food subsidies to combat wartime inflation prompted a gentle rebuke from Carlin, who enclosed a letter from the editor of the New York World-Telegram calling the column a "political speech."[69] With customary diplomacy, Carlin noted: "I am afraid we will both have to agree that the basic diary form of 'My Day' has sometimes been more honored in the breach than in the observance. Personally, I miss the daily regularity of the diary, because, like your

6,000,000 other readers, I enjoy most the notion of a daily visit with Mrs. Roosevelt...."[70] Apparently heeding his counsel, Mrs. Roosevelt resumed a more detailed chronicle of her activities.

With concern for women's rights diminished during the war, Mrs. Roosevelt muted protests against discrimination. In one of her last columns written from the White House, she commented "the need for being a feminist is gradually disappearing in this country," although she added, "we haven't quite reached the millenium."[71] As an example of the "little ways in which women are discriminated against," she cited the specifying of "men only" for "higher positions" under civil service.[72]

After Franklin D. Roosevelt's death on April 12, 1945, she told readers she planned to continue "My Day." She wrote that she had always looked upon the column "as a job which I wanted to have considered on its merits," but had been restricted by being the President's wife.[73] "Now I am on my own, and I hope to write as a newspaper woman," she declared.[74] Subsequently the column became more outspoken, figuring in a bitter dispute with the Roman Catholic hierarchy over her position to federal aid for parochial schools.[75] But it still retained its personal flavor of a woman describing her own activities and interests.

It is difficult to assess the impact of "My Day" during Mrs. Roosevelt's White House years. Without doubt, it symbolized the quintessence of political wifehood, promoting the administration through favorable publicity for New Deal programs and personalities. Curiously, the syndicate alluded to this aspect of the column in marketing it. It referred to "My Day" as a "service, although a most pleasant one," offered by Mrs. Roosevelt to the American people, implying it constituted a special civic bonus presented by the Roosevelt administration.[76]

As a journalistic endeavor, "My Day" remained unique from beginning to end. Her editors took it seriously and so did she, bowing to their directions, and meeting their requirements.

Beyond its political overtones, "My Day" sent a series of mixed messages regarding the position of women in society. Mixing naivete and shrewdness, Mrs. Roosevelt's candor raised questions that still have not been answered. As she described her hectic schedule, combining ceremonial, political and family responsibilities along with career interests, she personified the problem of fragmented lives faced by many women on a lesser scale. When she wrote, "I wish I could be three people, (one)...holding teas, luncheons...(one sitting) at a

desk eight hours a day....(the third) a wife, mother, grandmother and friend...." she surely hit a responsive note.[77]

Still "My Day" failed to offer a role model of much meaning to the average woman. After all, few individuals could realistically hope to follow in her footsteps as First Lady. Nevertheless, the column showed a middle-aged woman continually on the move, literally and figuratively, defining a role for herself outside the customary boundaries of her position. It pictured her trying her hand at the competitive occupation of daily journalism and establishing a place in spite of criticism, ridicule and obvious inexperience.

As she traded on her role as a wife, she enhanced it, increasingly becoming a public figure in her own right. If not a feminist, she addressed feminist concerns, although she minimized them. In one sense, "My Day" can be viewed as a journalistic way station on the road to women's liberation. Surely it can be seen as the portrait of a woman seeking a personal liberation through highly unusual circumstances. It is impossible to say what millions of readers saw in "My Day," but the column's durability testified that substance lay behind its bland exterior.

Footnotes

[1]James E. Polland, The Presidents and the Press (New York: MacMillan, 1947), p. 791. See also Susanna Scuito Dado, "Eleanor Roosevelt as a Columnist" (M.A. thesis, California State University, Northridge, 1977).

[2]Virginia Pasley, "First Lady to the Common Man," American Mercury 58 (March 1944), pp. 275-83.

[3]Eleanor Roosevelt to Lorena Hickok, Dec. 13, 1935, Box 2, Hickok papers, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, hereafter referred to as FDRL.

[4]Elliott Roosevelt and James Brough, An Untold Story: The Roosevelts of Hyde Park (New York: Putnam: 1973), pp. 267-68. See also Joseph P. Lash, Eleanor and Franklin (New York: Norton, 1971), p. 414.

[5]James R. Kearney, Anna Eleanor Roosevelt (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1968), p. 132.

[6]Ruby Black, Eleanor Roosevelt (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1940), p. 113.

[7]Anna Eleanor Roosevelt, This I Remember (New York: Harper, 1949), p. 177.

[8]Kearney, Anna Eleanor Roosevelt, p. 132.

[9]Monte F. Bourjaily to Eleanor Roosevelt, Dec. 14, 1935, Box 4873, Eleanor Roosevelt papers, hereafter referred to as ERP, FDRL.

[10]Enclosure, Bourjaily to Roosevelt, Dec. 14, 1935, Box 4873, ERP.

[11]Monte F. Bourjaily to Malvina Thompson Scheider, Dec. 14, 1935, Box 4873, ERP, FDRL.

[12]Roosevelt to Hickok, Sept. 8, 1935, Box 2, Hickok papers, FDRL.

[28]Roosevelt, "My Day," (for) March 6, 1937, Box 3171, ERP, FDRL.

[29]Roosevelt, "My Day," (for) Jan. 7, 1936, Box 3170, ERP, FDRL.

[30]Susan Ware, Beyond Suffrage: Women in the New Deal (Cambridge: Harvard, 1981), p. 74.

[31]Roosevelt, "My Day," (for) Aug. 12, 1937, Box 3171, ERP, FDRL.

[32]Ware, Beyond Suffrage, p. 130.

[33]Roosevelt, "My Day," (for) Dec. 4, 1937, Box 3171, ERP, FDRL.

[34]Roosevelt, This I Remember, p. 178.

[35]Black, Eleanor Roosevelt, p. 115. Also Roosevelt, "My Day," (for) Aug. 8, 1936, Box 3170, ERP, FDRL.

[36]Roosevelt, "My Day," (for) Sept. 23, 1936, Box 3170, ERP, FDRL.

[37]Doris Faber, The Life of Lorena Hickok: E.R.'s Friend (New York: Morrow, 1980), pp. 207-8. Also Roosevelt, "My Day," (for) May 11, 1936, Box 3170, ERP, FDRL.

[38]Roosevelt to Hickok, May 7, 1936, Box 2, Hickok papers, FDRL.

[39]Roosevelt, This I Remember, p. 178.

[40]Lash, Eleanor and Franklin, p. 561.

[41]Roosevelt, "My Day," (for) March 11, 1937, Sept. 3, 1937, and Dec. 30, 1937, Box 3171, ERP, FDRL.

[42]Bourjaily to Roosevelt, June 3, 1936, Box 4873, ERP, FDRL.

[43]File financial statements, United Features Syndicate to Eleanor Roosevelt, Box 4873, ERP, FDRL.

[13]Elliott Roosevelt and James Brough, An Untold Story, p. 299.

[14]Interview with James A. Halsted by Emily Williams, May 17, 1979, Hyde Park, N.Y., p. 7, ER oral History archives, FDRL.

[15]Halsted interview, p. 7, ER oral history archives, FDRL.

[16]Interview with John R. Boettiger by Emily Williams, Aug. 1, 1979, Northampton, Mass., p. 58, ER oral history archives, FDRL.

[17]Alfred B. Rollins, Jr., Roosevelt and Howe (New York: Knopf, 1962), p. 426.

[18]Roosevelt, This I Remember, p. 177.

[19]Roosevelt to Hickok, Dec. 17, 1935, Box 2, Hickok papers, FDRL.

[20]Eleanor Roosevelt, "My Day," (for) Dec. 30, 1935, Box 3170, ERP, FDRL.

[21]Bourjaily to Roosevelt, Jan. 24, 1936, Box 4873, ERP, FDRL.

[22]Roosevelt, "My Day," (for) Jan. 15, 1936, Box 3170, ERP, FDRL.

[23]George Carlin to Eleanor Roosevelt, April 16, 1937, Box 4873, ERP, FDRL.

[24]Memo to George Carlin from JC (unidentified editor), April 8, 1937, Box 4873, ERP, FDRL.

[25]Kearney, Anna Eleanor Roosevelt, pp. 132-35. See also Lash, Eleanor and Franklin, pp. 560-61.

[26]Roosevelt, "My Day," (for) Aug. 20, 1936, Box 3170, ERP, FDRL.

[27]Roosevelt, "My Day," (for) Feb. 1, 1936, Box 3170, ERP, FDRL.

[44]Bourjaily to Roosevelt, June 3, 1936, Box 4873, ERP, FDRL.

[45]Margaret Marshall, "Columnists on Parade," Nation 137 (Feb. 26, 1938), pp. 14-15.

[46]Kearney, Anna Eleanor Roosevelt, pp. 133-34.

[47]Roosevelt, "My Day," (for) Jan. 30, 1937, Box 3171, ERP, FDRL.

[48]Roosevelt, "My Day," (for) Jan 26, 1937, Box 3171, ERP, FDRL.

[49]_____, "My Day," (for) Jan. 26, 1937.

[50]Roosevelt, "My Day," (for) Feb. 1, 1937, Box 3171, ERP, FDRL.

[51]George Carlin to Eleanor Roosevelt, August 17, 1940, as quoted in Lash, Eleanor and Franklin, p. 565.

[52]"'My Day,' Dominant Influence," Saturday Evening Post 212 (Sept. 9, 1939), p. 24. Also in "Excerpts Press Conference 570," The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt 8 (New York: Macmillan, 1947), pp. 432-433. Also Arthur Krock, New York Times, Aug. 10, 1939, p. 18.

[53]Dorothy Dunbar Bromley, "The Future of Eleanor Roosevelt," Harper's Magazine 58 (Jan. 1940), p. 137. Also Roosevelt, "My Day," Aug. 9, 1939, Box 3145, ERP, FDRL.

[54]Roosevelt, "My Day," (for) Feb. 27, 1939, Box 3145, ERP, FDRL.

[55]George Carlin to Eleanor Roosevelt, Aug. 8, 1939, Box 4873, ERP, FDRL.

[56]Malvina Thompson Scheider to George Carlin, Aug. 13, 1939, Box 4873, ERP, FDRL.

[57]Roosevelt, "My Day," (for) Aug. 8, 1939, Box 3145, ERP, FDRL.

[58]Scheider to Carlin, Aug. 13, 1939, Box 4873, ERP, FDRL.

[59]Roosevelt, "My Day," (for) Dec. 1-2, 1939, Box 3145, ERP, FDRL.

[60]Roosevelt, "My Day," (for) June 10-14, 1939, Box 3145, ERP, FDRL.

[61]George Carlin to Eleanor Roosevelt, Sept. 8, 1939, Box 3145, ERP, FDRL. Also Roosevelt, "My Day," (for) Sept. 8, 1939, Box 3145, ERP, FDRL.

[62]Roosevelt, "My Day," (for) Sept. 13, 1939, Box 3145, ERP, FDRL.

[63]Roosevelt, "My Day," (for) May 17, 1940, Box 3146, ERP, FDRL.

[64]Roosevelt, "My Day," (for) Nov. 2, 1940, Box 3146, ERP, FDRL.

[65]Roosevelt, "My Day," (for) Nov. 12, 1940, Box 3146, ERP, FDRL.

[66]Roosevelt, "My Day," (for) Dec. 16, 1941, Box 3175, ERP, FDRL.

[67]Roosevelt, "My Day," (for) Sept. 9, 1944, Box 3177, ERP, FDRL.

[68]Roosevelt, "My Day," (for) Jan. 14, 1944, Box 3177, ERP, FDRL.

[69]Lee B. Wood to George Carlin, Nov. 26, 1943, Box 4873, ERP, FDRL.

[70]George Carlin to Eleanor Roosevelt, Nov. 27, 1943, Box 4873, ERP, FDRL.

[71]Roosevelt, "My Day," (for) Feb. 23, 1945, Box 3178, ERP, FDRL.

[72]Roosevelt, "My Day," (for) Feb. 23, 1945.

[73]Roosevelt, "My Day," (for) April 19, 1945, Box 3178, ERP, FDRL.

[74]Roosevelt, "My Day," (for) April 19, 1945.

[75]Joseph P. Lash, Eleanor: The Years Alone (New York: Norton, 1972), pp. 150-53.

[76]Promotion copy for series on royal visit, United Feature Syndicate, May 24, 1939, p. 3, Box 4873, ERP, FDRL.

[77]Roosevelt, "My Day," (for) Dec. 14, 1936, Box 3170, ERP, FDRL.

[78]Dado, "Eleanor Roosevelt as a Columnist," p. 228.